

564 The Kurup, Nambiyâr, Viyyûr, Mânavallan, Vengôlan, Nelliôden, Adungâdi, Kitâvu, Adiôdi, Âmayengolam, all superior clans, belong, properly speaking, to North Malabar. The Kiriyaattil, or Kiriyaam, said to be derived from the Sanskrit graham, a house (a doubtful derivation) is the highest of all the clans in South Malabar, and is supposed to comprise or correspond with the group of clans just named of North Malabar. In the old days every Nâyara chief had his Chârnavar, or adherents. The Purattu Chârna are the *outside* adherents, or the fighters, and so on, and the Akattu Chârna are *inside* adherents—clerks and domestics. The clan from which the former were drawn is superior to the latter. The Ūrâli are said to have been masons; the Pallichans, mancheel* bearers.†

[141] The Vattakkâd clan, whose proper métier is producing gingelly or cocoanut oil with the oil mill, is the lowest of all excepting, I think, the Pallichan. Indeed, in North Malabar, I have frequently been told by Nâyars of the superior clans that they do not admit the Vattakkâd to be Nâyars, and say they have adopted the honorific affix "Nâyara" to their names quite recently. It seems rather odd that this clan, or at any rate one sub-clan of it is almost the tallest and has the finest nasal index, being the only clan whose nasal index is finer than that of the Nambûtiri.

564 Union by marriage, or whatever the function may be called, is permissible between most of the other clans, 582 the rule which was noticed already under "Nambûtiris"‡ by which a woman may never unite herself with her inferior, being always observed. That is, she may unite 564 herself with a man of her own clan or with a man of any superior clan, or with a Nambûtiri, an Embrântiri or any other Brâhman, or with one of the small sects coming between the Brâhman and the Nâyars, but she cannot under any circumstances unite herself with a man of a [264] clan which is inferior to hers. Nor can she eat with [851] others of a clan inferior to hers. A man may, and does [613] without restriction. Her children, by an equal in race and not only in mere social standing, but never by one

[493] * A mancheel is a conveyance carried on men's shoulders, more like a hammock strung on a pole, with a flat covering over it, than a palankeen. The palankeen is unknown in Malabar.

† There is in the Cochin state a clan, Elâyadan, which is practically equal in status to the Nambûtiri.

‡ Madras Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. III, No. 1.

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magician was called in to prepare one of these. Placing an ordinary style and a small sheet of copper in a box, he closed it. Presently a noise was heard inside the box; and in a few moments a sound as of the style falling. The box was opened and magic figures were found to be inscribed on the copper sheet. The lady wears the talisman now! The magician must have been in a favourable mood on the occasion, as he is said to have given an additional performance on his own account. When he had placed the style and the tiny sheet of copper in the box, taking two young cocoanuts in his hands, he kept on throwing them in the air and catching them. "What will you have in each?" he asked. "Honey in one and boiled milk in the other" was the answer. Of course these were found in the cocoanuts when they were opened by the magician, but it was somewhat gross of the Nāyar gentleman to test the quality of the milk by turning it into curds the next day. Wonderful stories are told of this man who used to be seen at night carried in a mancheel by invisible bearers, whose weary chant could be heard, but whose bodily presence was beyond the reach of human eye.

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The last and the chief of this trio is the once famous Kandeth Nayar who departed this life about a hundred years ago. Every one knows about the Kandeth Nayar, and any one now-a-days who wants to injure another invokes his aid, and resorts to his tomb to fulfil his vow. I understand that sacrifices at his tomb are common, and that his power reaches from the land of shades in almost the same strength as when he lived.

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The rather incoherent way in which the terms warlock, magician, have been used seems to demand some explanation. Strictly speaking, the Parayan Ōdiyan is the only warlock. Magician is scarcely the correct term for the ordinary worker in magic. Nevertheless, it is scarcely possible to avoid a somewhat indiscriminate use of these terms on account of the way in which the functions of the warlock, the magician, the astrologer, and even the priest are really interwoven one with the other. The professed magician is often also the warlock and *vice versa*. The vernacular word, which is as catholic as that which stands for "Religion," is "mantravāḍi"—mantram man; he who is sought every day of the year by hundreds of the people of Kērala, to relieve them of their physical troubles and infirmities, to cure their cattle, to injure their enemies, aye, even to destroy them.

the eye, buffaloes with white tips to their tails, wild elephants caught in traps and wild hogs that had fallen into wells.

Even in social matters, these chieftains had supreme powers. In the settlement of marriages in any part of the country, the Nayars had to obtain the chieftain's sanction who held sway over the particular locality. The custom is even now in vogue though in a visibly weakened form. In the celebration of a *Kettu kalyanam* or *sambandham* in any part of the country, the parties concerned visited the chieftain and bought his consent with presents. For without such consent no settlement and celebration thereafter could be arranged. His consent had to be procured even for the holding of festivals.

The chieftain's powers were so great that, if a wife living with her husband proved an object of attraction to another, adequate presents to the chieftain would buy him a formal writ, giving him the rights of a husband over that woman. Thus even so late as only a generation or two ago, the chieftain's power was exercised in the encouragement of polyandry.

When a tali-tying ceremony had to be performed for a girl of any decent family in a locality, she was taken to the local chieftain with a nuzzar or *tirumukdashcha* and other things prepared for the festival that was to follow. In return the girl was given a golden bracelet which she was authorised to wear in his presence. No girl who had not received such a one could wear it.

In certain parts of the State people were afraid to erect buildings of more than one storey, lest they should incur the inexorable wrath of the chieftain; nor were they allowed to tile thatched houses. Departures from these customs were allowed only with the consent of the chieftain, embodied in a writ issued by him. In rural parts even to this day such restrictions are not totally inoperative. In the State His Highness the Raja gives his sanction in regard to some social matters even to this day and Nambutiri landlords exercise a similar authority among the tenants occupying their lands. Certain kinds of conveyances such as palanquins and dholies were reserved only for chieftains while the *Pallichans* were the only people who were employed to carry them. Various titles

491 of traffic on arterial routes (e.g., Coimbatore-Cochin). The opening of Aroor Bridge has failed to attract the high potential of traffic expected between Quilon and Ernakulam, as there are weak bridges at least at three points on the route. As a result of lack of bridges, inter-State traffic between Kasargod and Mangalore has to seek a diversion *via* South Coorg. Apart from this, the need for bypasses, which is felt today in and near Calicut, is likely to become an urgent necessity around every focal point of increased industrial growth, such as Ernakulam, Quilon, Alwaye, Palghat, Trichur, etc.

* 433 491 8.16 Special mention may be made of two vital routes:

(i) *Cochin-Coimbatore Road (N.H. No. 47)*. This road has already become fully saturated with traffic passing between the port of Cochin and the Coimbatore area. The opening of the Mangalapuzha bridge over the Alwaye river has contributed to this saturation to a great extent. Future industrial development and increased traffic at the Cochin port would require the reservation of this road (N.H. No. 47) for fast moving traffic with an additional lane. Infact, even to cater to the present needs, such an arrangement is necessary. Slow moving traffic will have to be diverted to an alternative route from Trichur to Coimbatore *via* Kollengode and Palghat.

(ii) *Aroor Bridge—Ernakulam Road*. This length of 9½ miles of the National Highway is tortuous and incapable of being widened. If it is to cope up with the expanding activities of Cochin area, it will have to be realigned, even before the ship-building yard is located in Cochin. The best plan would be to reclaim land along the coast from Aroor bridge to the site where a bridge is proposed to be constructed near the Thevara College at Ernakulam approximately a distance of four miles, and divert the road on to this reclaimed land; the reclamation will have not only to provide for a road of about 70 ft. width, but could also be used to build a chain of warehouses which are very much in demand. A water frontage to handle the water-borne traffic on this entire four-mile route will also have to be constructed.

ROAD TRANSPORT

- 493 8.17 The number of mechanized road vehicles in the State—trucks, buses, taxis, private cars, auto-rickshaws, etc.,—has increased sharply from 9,395 in 1956-57 to 23,087 in 1959-60. The number of goods vehicles rose from 2,714 to 5,218, i.e., by 92.2 per cent. But their proportionate share declined, 28.9 per cent of the total number of vehicles, to 22.6 per cent. During the same period, the number of buses increased from 452 to 3,236, that is by over 600 per cent. The percentage to the total number of road vehicles in their case increased from 4.8 per cent to 14 per cent. Passenger transport has thus recorded a striking increase.

[17] 8.18 The State has a vehicle density of 2.14 per mile of road, 1.54 per sq. mile of area, and 146.6 per 100,000 of population. The comparative figures for all-India and an industrially advanced State like West Bengal are as follows.

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VEHICLE DENSITY

	Per mile of road	Per sq. mile	Per 100,000 Population
Kerala	2.14	1.34	166.6
West Bengal	1.20	0.92	111.1
India	1.20	0.32	104.0

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Kerala comes up with the highest indices, but this is not surprising as the railway serves only certain limited areas and road transport has to serve the other areas.

8.19 Trivandrum and Calicut districts have the largest concentration of goods vehicles on the road; Alleppey, Ernakulam, and Quilon figure next. As regards the stage carriages, Trivandrum district has the largest fleet; Trichur, Ernakulam, and Calicut districts also account for large numbers of stage carriages but these are much smaller. The Coimbatore-Cochin route is saturated with goods traffic in cotton bales, fertilizers, planks, tea, tapioca, machinery, hardware, etc., particularly since the opening of the Mangalapuzha bridge replacing the Desom ferry. The traffic was expected to go up by about 50 per cent during 1961. Similarly the traffic between Calicut and Coimbatore, across the Palghat gap and between Calicut and Wynad (timber traffic) bound for destinations in Salem, Madras, Mysore, Tuticorin, etc., has been on the increase. As industrial developments presage considerable increase of traffic on these routes, problems of alignment, bridging, extra lanes, expressway sections, etc., may call for more investment and additional construction.

8.20 About 250 trucks are operating between Mysore and Kerala on inter-State routes. They are subject to the restriction that they may not operate on more than three important straight routes, not exceeding 300 miles in each State. Inter-State routing arrangements between Madras and Kerala are yet to be completed.

8.21 The business in goods transport in the State suffers from the preponderance of owner-operators of single trucks (1,717 operators). There are only five operators in the State who own more than 10 trucks. The predominance of the owner-operator of single trucks is likely to prevent the industry from obtaining the economies and advantages of enhanced efficiency resulting from better organization of road transport in the State. [422]

8.22 Among other features of the transport system special mention may be made of chronic over-loading of vehicles and the beginning of movement in truck-trailer combinations in order to circumvent difficulties arising from restrictions of weight over weak bridges and culverts. Study and analysis of road transport problems are rendered more difficult by the paucity of data regarding traffic, the absence of regular departmental road census of vehicles and traffic, etc. A limited degree of nationalization of goods transport by road has been introduced on the Cochin-Mannar route where 10 to 18 trucks carry tea from the estates to Cochin, and rice, manures and machinery from Cochin to the estates.

8.23 Despite an early start, the nationalized road passenger services have not made much headway. About 458 vehicles are on the road, covering 24.9 million miles annually, and carrying about 65.3 million passengers. The larger revenues resulting from increased traffic and higher fares, have not improved the net profits of [62]

¹ The revenues rose by Rs. 31 lakhs.

494 the services, which have declined from Rs. 23.8 lakhs in 1956-57 to Rs. 17.4 lakhs
652 in 1959-60.

499 8.24 The allotments during the Second Plan for the construction of roads and
491 bridges were Rs. 2.146 crores and Rs. 1.932 crores respectively. The expenditure on
652 roads and bridges in the first four years of the Plan amounted to Rs. 2.871 crores and
Rs. 1.041 crores. The expenditure on maintenance in the three years 1956-59 was
about Rs. 2.956 crores. The achievement in respect of road construction, improve-
ment and upgrading and construction of major bridges lagged seriously behind
targets in the fourth year of the Second Plan.

8.25 The Central Government's expenditure on the construction and improve-
ment of national highways was as follows:

1958-59	Actual	Rs. 11 lakhs
1959-60	Revised Estimate	Rs. 32 lakhs
1960-61	Budget Estimate	Rs. 55 lakhs

- 493 8.26 The number of buses and trucks rose sharply in the State during the four
494 years of the Second Plan; but particulars are lacking regarding the amount of public
or private investment on vehicles. The nationalized passenger services planned to
add 460 buses to the fleet, 300 for rehabilitation and new 160 for operating on
a stretch of 400 miles of roads. If achieved, this would involve an investment of
the order of Rs. 2 crores. Between 1956-57 and 1958-59 the capital at charge rose
by Rs. 78.4 lakhs only.

THE INLAND WATERWAYS

487 8.27 The inland waterways of the State comprise: (a) the west coast canal
system, stretching continuously except for a land-locked break between Azhikkal
and Badagara (29.5 miles) a distance of over 347 miles from Trivandrum to Hosdurg;
(b) cross canals, 387 miles long, mostly in the south of the State serving the commercial
region in the midlands, and about 521 navigable miles in its various rivers. The
Ashtamudi and Vembanad lakes provide extensive navigation facilities for traffic
to and from Alleppey, Kottayam, Quilon and Cochin.

8.28 The waterways present a variety of problems though none of them are
insuperable. These should be tackled systematically as the waterways promise
superior economic advantages. Natural limitations arise from weather and rainfall;
most rivers are navigable upto their middle reaches only during the period of the
monsoons. In many places they are narrow and shallow (e.g., on the Trivandrum-
487 Quilon route). Dredging is often insufficient and even the dredgers are unsuitable
503 for dredging the narrow sections. Tugging services are required in hazardous areas,
e.g., Pathiramanal-Munroe light area in the Vembanad lake. Bridges are often low,
as in Varkala and on the Trivandrum-Quilon route, and they do not permit operation,
particularly of passenger boats. Landing places have not been provided in many
places, and where they are, they are not maintained in proper condition for use. A
505 great drawback of water transport is insecurity and pilferage of the cargo. The
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upon the maintenance of navigability in the waterways, and removal of a number of handicaps listed in para 8.28.

CONCLUSIONS

8.47 The conclusions that follow from the general traffic pattern outlined above are (a) accessions to traffic may be expected just in those areas and routes where it is strikingly high already (e.g., Cochin-Shoranur), (b) spare transport capacity on many railway sections will be absorbed, (c) the road, rail and waterway links to the ports may need improvement, and (d) further, the road transport capacity and terminal facilities should be increased to meet mounting demands.¹

8.48 The railways have an important role to play, mainly in inter-State traffic and in helping the work of the ports. In the Third Plan, an investment of Rs. 1.2 crores i.e., of the same order as proposed and accepted but unfulfilled in the Second Plan may be necessary, mainly in connection with increase in the line capacity on vital routes (e.g., Cochin-Shoranur). If traffic and engineering surveys establish the economic feasibility of Trivandrum-Nagercoil-Tirunelveli line, it may be considered for the Fourth Plan.

8.49 As the eastern regions of the State are untouched by the Railways and are likely to remain so, these have to rely mainly on road transport. It is necessary to extend, bridge, and improve the road network in these areas till at least 50 per cent of the targets set for 1981 are achieved by 1971². The expenditure will be about Rs. 17 crores in the Third Plan and Rs. 26.3 crores in the Fourth Plan.

8.50 The Third Plan programme for roads and bridges in the State will cover the development of arterial routes and cross-roads in the north of the State (Rs. 4.32 crores), improvement of arterial routes in the south including the opening of Thenmala-Thekkadi road (Rs. 1 crore), the Vypeen Island Scheme (Rs. 1 crore), construction and improvement of about 3,600 miles of district and village roads (Rs. 5.996 crores) and the construction and improvement of 122 major and 584 minor bridges and culverts. Schemes spilling over from the Second Plan and costing Rs. 1.62 crores will also have to be completed. It is desirable to institute a road fund in the State to finance road development. The particular areas and routes where extension and improvements are possible in the next five years are set out in Table 43. The physical targets are indicated in Table 44.³

8.51 The number of trucks will need to be considerably augmented to cope up with the anticipated demands of traffic. The investment on trucks may amount to about Rs. 11 crores in the Third Plan and Rs. 10.29 crores in the Fourth Plan. The number of passenger buses may require to be increased by 2,400 in 10 years. About 4,600 buses may have to be replaced by the end of 1971. This would entail an expenditure of Rs. 20.5 crores. The State's Third Plan envisages the continuance of the

¹ Passenger traffic is certain to go up with rising population and concentrations of industry and trade at such centres as Trivandrum, Quilon, Kundera, Cochin, Ernakulam, Trichur, Palghat, Calicut and Cannanore but no estimate of the passenger service demands has been made here.

² Targets for 1981 as per formulae of the Chief Engineers' Plan, Bombay (1960).

³ [Table 44, appearing on p. 298 of the text, has not been processed -- Analysis]

* 483 policy of gradual nationalization. In the nationalized sector, about 360 additional
 493 vehicles are proposed to be put on the road at a cost of Rs. 2.16 crores. Investment
 494 on land, buildings and equipment is to be Rs. 87.7 lakhs. A Road Transport Corpo-
 ration should be formed to run the bus service. The private sector will have to meet
 the residual road passenger needs.

* 483 8.52 The recommendations of the Inland Water Transport Committee for the
 503 development of the waterways of the State must be implemented since considerable
 traffic potential can be tapped for this transport medium at low cost. In order not
 merely to keep pace with but also to be ahead of industrial developments promising
 traffic, it may be necessary to invest even more than Rs. 2 crores in the Third Plan,
 as at present proposed. The improvements in navigability of the waterways north of
 Cochin, of the Cochin-Quilon and Quilon-Trivandrum routes and the cutting of the
 landlocked Azhikkal-Badagara section, are some of the items in the Third Plan budget
 for development of inland waterways in the State. Extensions of the waterways
 south of Trivandrum, and north of Hosdrug upto Mangalore, to connect up with the
 Mangalore-Coondapur canal works, will have to be taken up later on in the Fourth
 Plan.

* 483 8.53 The State's current schemes for the development of Neendakara, Quilon
 504 and Calicut and the recommendations of the Intermediate Ports Committee have
 been taken into account in proposing an investment of Rs. 2.42 crores in the Third
 and Rs. 1.87 crores in the Fourth Plans. On account of anticipated demand for
 port-services by newly coming up or expanding industries in the State and outside,
 it would be wiser to provide initially higher investments in transport to keep ahead
 of the demand for traffic.

8.54 Port of Cochin can be expected to play an even more dominant role in the
 transport of the State as the economy takes off. An investment of Rs. 1.75 crores
 proposed to be incurred to improve facilities at Cochin Port during the Third Plan
 will benefit not merely Kerala but Madras and other States. It will add conspicuously
 to the State's transport capacity, created by the investments in roads, waterways and
 railways within the State.

[PP. 139-205 not processed]



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Fig. 5. A typical Kerala landscape: the red laterite dust road passes between green paddy fields; the blue sky is reflected in the water of the irrigation channel by the side of the road.



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Fig. 6. A Christian shrine at a crossroads in Cochin.

[P.238-A]

bearers.* The Sūdra clan supplies female servants in the 564
 houses of Nambūdiris. The Vattakkād (or Chakkingal: [258]
 chakku, oil press) clan, whose proper *métier* is producing
 gingelly or cocoanut oil with the oil-mill, is the lowest
 of all, excepting, I think, the Pallichan. Indeed, in [553]
 North Malabar, I have frequently been told by Nāyars of
 the superior clans that they do not admit the Vattakkād
 to be Nāyars, and say that they have adopted the
 honorary affix Nāyar to their names quite recently."
 There is some obscurity as regards the sub-divisions
 of the Vattakkād clan. To the north of Calicut, in
 Kurumbranād, they are divided into the Undiātuna, or
 those who pull (to work the oil-machine by hand), and
 the Murivechchu-ātune, or those who tie or fasten
 bullocks, to work the oil-machine. Yet further north,
 at Tellicherry and thereabouts, there are no known
 sub-divisions, while in Ernād, to the eastward, the clan
 is divided into the Veluttātu (white) and Karuttātu
 (black). The white have nothing to do with the [258]
 expression and preparation of oil, which is the hereditary [264]
 occupation of the black. The white may eat with
 Nāyars of any clan; the black can eat with no others
 outside their own clan. The black sub-clan is strictly
 endogamous; the other, the superior sub-clan, is not.
 Their women may marry men of any other clan, the
 Pallichchan excepted. Union by marriage, or whatever
 the function may be named, is permissible between most
 of the other clans, the rule by which a woman may
 never unite herself with her inferior being always
 observed. She may unite herself with a man of her
 own clan, or with a man of any superior clan, or with
 a Nambūtiri, an Embrāntiri, or any other Brāhman,

* A manchil is a conveyance carried on men's shoulders, and more like a
 hammock slung on a pole, with a flat covering over it, than a palanquin.